

Virgil's Carthaginians at *A.* 1.430-6: Cyclopes in Bees' Clothing*

Even before the *Eclogues*, Virgil-Tityrus had been used to shifting from small to large scales, fusing microcosm and macrocosm, exchanging miniatures and the gigantic.¹ With a proverbial² and at the same time programmatic line, *E.* 1.23 *sic parvis componere magna solebam*, 'thus I used to compare small things with great,' he announced the rise not only of an enlarged, augmented – i.e. Augustan – Rome, but also of the new poetics of comparison necessary to make her description possible: it is like 'cypresses among the bending osiers' that Rome 'has reared her head so high among all other cities' (*E.* 1.24-5 *uerum haec tantum alias caput extulit urbes, / quantum lenta solent inter uiburna cupressi*).

Virgil asks for permission to employ such poetics of comparison in the fourth *Georgic*, after he has already ventured to associate the tiny bees of his narrative with gigantic, and yet Callimachean,³ Cyclopes forging weapons:⁴

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¹ See Mac Góráin (2009).

² See Cucchiarelli (2012) 148. On Milton's use of the *formula* as a poetic *topos*, see Martindale (1986) 9.

³ Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* 46-61 is clearly the primary model of the passage, combined with Apollonius *Arg.* 1.730-4 and a 'window allusion' to Homer *Od.* 9.389-94: see Farrell (1991) 243-5, Nelis (2001) 243-4, Casali (2006) 197-203 (on *A.* 8.449-53), Mac Góráin (2009) 6-7. Callimachus also seems the first to connect the Hesiodic Cyclopes with Hephaestus in the island of Lipari/Meligounís, a name which may indicate an appropriate connection between bees and Cyclopes.

namque aliae uictu inuigilant et foedere pacto
exercentur agris; pars intra saepta domorum
narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten
prima fauis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis
suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos
educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella
stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;
sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,
inque uicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto
ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent:
feruet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
ac ueluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis
cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna;
illi inter sese magna ui bracchia tollunt
in numerum, uersantque tenaci forcipe ferrum:
non aliter, *si parua licet componere magnis*,
Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi
munere quamque suo.

(G. 4.158-78)

⁴ I cite Mynors (1969) unless specified. Translations are Fairclough's with minor changes.

For some watch over the gathering of food, and under fixed covenant labour in the fields; some, within the confines of their homes, lay down the narcissus' tears and gluey gum from the tree bark as the first foundation of the comb, then hang aloft clinging wax; others lead out the full-grown young, the nation's hope; others pack purest honey, and swell the cells with liquid nectar. To some it has fallen by lot to be sentries at the gates, and in turn they watch the rains and clouds of the sky, or take the load of incomers, or in martial array they drive the drones, a lazy herd, from the folds. All aglow is the work, and the fragrant honey is sweet with thyme. And as, when the Cyclopes in haste forge bolts from tough ore, some with oxhide bellows make the blasts come and go, others dip the hissing brass in the lake, while Aetna groans under the anvils laid upon her; they, with mighty force, now one, now another, raise their arms in measured cadence, and turn the iron with gripping tongs – even so, *if we may compare small things with great*, an inborn love of gain spurs on the Attic bees, each after its own office.

As in a diptych which has been separated, both sides of this simile, tenor and vehicle,⁵ surface again through direct self-quotation in the texture of the *Aeneid*: the bees of *G.* 4.162-9 reappear almost *uerbatim* in a simile that compares the Carthaginians, hard at work building their city, to a swarm of busy bees working at their hive (*A.* 1.430-6); in symmetrical fashion, the same Cyclopes of the *Georgics*, self-quoted in *Aeneid* 8, exit the realm of similes and concretely enter epic narrative in order to build the shield of Aeneas (*A.* 8.449-53).

Bees and Cyclopes bring into the epic the same poetics of comparison highlighted at the beginning of the *Eclogues*: they set in motion a game of abrupt changes of scale and perspective, from small to great, from great to small. Yet these sudden shifts are only activated by an intratextual memory: the *Aeneid* passages may appear quite different from what they seemed at first sight, once readers remember their original *Georgic* context.

⁵ To use Richards' (1936) terms instead of H. Fraenkel's (1921) *wiesatz* and *sosatz*.

Before homing in on the bee simile in *Aeneid* 1, which is the focus of this paper, it is worth mentioning that a similar technique is used by Virgil in Book 4, when the Trojans leaving Carthage appear similar, in the eyes of Dido, to a column of ants gathering food:

ac uelut ingentem formicae farris aceruum
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas
conuectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita feruet.

(*A.* 4.402-7)

Even as when ants, mindful of winter, plunder a huge heap of corn and store it in their home;
over the plain moves a black column, and through the grass they carry the spoil on a narrow track; some strain with their shoulders and heave on the huge grains, some close up the ranks and rebuke delay; all the path is aglow with work.

It may come as a surprise that Virgil employs such miniaturization in order to convey the strong sense of menace that the Trojans are posing to Dido. Yet, if we turn to look at the intra- and intertextual connections of the passage, we may notice that these evoke further images, amplifying the scale and adding extra layers of threat to the scene. First, the memory of the *Georgics*, where ants are described as plundering the harvest (*G.* 1.185-6), helps in expressing Dido's feelings that the Trojans have already been looting Carthage, as readers know well that their Roman descendants

will do.⁶ In addition, Servius tells us that the first half of line 404, *it nigrum campis agmen*, had been used by Ennius for elephants and by Accius for Indians. The intertext, far from being ‘the classic example of Virgil’s disregard from the original application of an Ennian phrase,’⁷ with an ‘almost comic effect,’⁸ dramatizes the scene by adding a military colouring to it, and emphasizes the danger that the Trojans represent for Dido.⁹ Moreover, if we champion the possibility that Ennius’ phrase was originally applied to Hannibal’s elephants,¹⁰ it suddenly lets the unsettling and traumatic memory of the Second Punic War crash into the fiction of the myth.

As I am going to argue in this paper, an analogous shift is activated in the bee simile of *Aeneid* 1.430-6,¹¹ where the intertextual memory of other epic bees lets the military sphere intrude into the picture, while the explicit self-quotation from *Georgics* 4 evokes the second half of that *Georgic* diptych, the simile of the Cyclopes forging weapons. It is my contention that, by means of a kind of ‘transitive relation’ made explicit by the self-quotation, the images of both bees and Cyclopes – one evoked directly, the other by implication – are made extremely relevant to the interpretation of the nature and character of the Carthaginians in this scene. However, while Dido’s reaction to the Trojans/ants (*A.* 4.408-11) makes their menacing connotations explicit, no cognizance is taken of

⁶ Note ‘the association of *populare* and *praeda* in two successive lines,’ with Casali (1999) 208 n. 14.

⁷ Wigodsky (1972) 53.

⁸ Pease (1935) 342.

⁹ See Briggs (1980) 55, Casali (1999) 207-8 and Schell (2009) 91.

¹⁰ Skutsch (1985) 656-7; see Casali (1999) 207-8 n. 11.

¹¹ The passage has not been spared from the study of Virgilian similes as a favourite locus for complex internal and external allusion: see Grant (1969), Leach (1977), Briggs (1980), Polleichtner (2005), Schell (2009). On similes in Virgil, see Coffey (1961), Hornsby (1970), Perutelli (1972), Rieks (1981), West (1969) and (1970).

the possible danger that these Carthaginians/bees are posing to Aeneas as he is approaching their city.

The choice to let these threatening aspects be implicit and unspoken, I argue, suits particularly well the scene's emphasis on the ironically tragic gap between the hero's limited knowledge of the site and the consciousness of Roman readers, who cannot but be highly suspicious of Carthage in terms of its history.¹² Virgil's readers, as critics have long recognized, see what Aeneas cannot, yet there is much more to this privileged vision than has thus far been perceived.

1. *A. 1.418-40: admiranda suspectanda*

When Aeneas approaches the site of Carthage, the Tyrians, in their collected effort, are compared to a swarm of bees, in an almost *uerbatim* self-quotation of *Georgics* 4.162-9:¹³

corripuere uiam interea, qua semita monstrat,
iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
imminet aduersasque aspectat desuper arces.
miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.
instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros

¹² On the limitation of Aeneas' interpretative horizons in the scene, see Segal (1981). On readings 'in the light of history,' see above all Horsfall (1973-4), but also Kraggerud (1963), Clay (1988), A. Barchiesi (1994), Egan (1998), Casali (1999), Schiesaro (2008).

¹³ There are some slight variations from the *Georgics* passage: subordinate clauses (in *cum* plus indicative with *aut... aut... aut*) instead of the overall paratactic syntax (with antithesis and polysyndeton, *aliae... pars... aliae... aliae*) of the *Georgics* passage; the replacement of *purissima* with *liquidissima*, of *liquido* with *dulci*, and the omission of *G. 4.165-6*. Three lines, *A. 1.434-6*, are a repetition *ad uerbum* of *G. 4.167-9*.

molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,
 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;
 iura magistratumque legunt sanctumque senatum.
 hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatri¹⁴
 fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta¹⁵ futuris:
 qualis apes aestate noua per florea rura
 exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
 educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
 stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
 aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto
 ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;
 feruet opus redolentque thymo fraglantia mella.
 ‘o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!’
 Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.
 infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)
 per medios, miscetque uiris neque cernitur ulli.

(A. 1.418-40)

Meanwhile they sped on the road where the pathway points. And now they were climbing the
 hill that looms large over the city and looks down on the confronting towers. Aeneas marvels at
 the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads.

¹⁴ I here prefer to maintain *theatri* (Mediceus, Servius, Nonius and Tiberius), also printed by Conte (2009), rather than Mynors' (1969) *theatris* (FP¹R).

¹⁵ Here Mynors (1969) accepts Bentley's reading (*apta*) for the *alta* of the manuscripts. Conte (2009) retains *alta*.

Eagerly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, to rear the citadel, and roll up rocks by hand; some to choose the site for a dwelling and enclose it with a furrow. They choose the laws, the magistrates, and the sacred Senate. Here some are digging harbours, here others lay the deep foundations of a theatre, and hew out of the cliffs enormous columns, high adornments for future stages. Even as bees in early summer, amid flowery fields, ply their task in sunshine, when they lead forth the full-grown young of their race, or pack the fluid honey and strain their cells to bursting with sweet nectar, or receive the burdens of incomers, or in martial array drive from their folds the drones, a lazy herd; all aglow is the work and the fragrant honey is sweet with thyme. ‘Happy they whose walls already rise!’ cries Aeneas, and he lifts his eyes towards the city roofs.

The bee simile, in all its alluring aspects, is highly motivated by the narrative context,¹⁶ and must initially be read in light of the atmosphere of wonder that the hero’s repeated admiration inspires (*miratur*, 421 and 422). One *tertium comparationis*, work (431 *labor*), which is fundamental to the bees in the *Georgics* (G. 4.184 *labor omnibus unus*), pushes bees and Tyrians alike to build a ‘wonderful’ society (cf. G. 4.3 *admiranda... spectacula rerum*).¹⁷ In the *Georgics*, the author

¹⁶ On correspondences, in Virgil, between similes and their narrative contexts, see West (1969) and (1970).

¹⁷ Tyrians and bees reveal their similarities in terms of more than one *tertium comparationis*: see Briggs (1980) 72. The Tyrians’ *strepitus* (422) anticipates the buzz of the swarm (436 *feruet opus*), *insto* and *ardeo* (423) are consequential to the action of work in the simile (431 *exercet... labor*), *effodio* is also used for bees at G. 4.42, the *fundamenta* of the theatre (428) may recall the *fundamina* of the combs (G. 4.161), while the mention of the Senate and theatre remind readers of the gathering places of the strongly politicized bee community of the *Georgics*, of the hierarchic organization of bee society. In addition, Tyrians have to find a place where they can settle down, as do bees (G. 4.8 *principio sedes apibus statioque petenda*), and this should be sheltered from winds (G. 4.9 *quo neque sit uentis aditus*), just like the harbour of Carthage (A. 1.159-60 *insula portum / efficit obiectu laterum*); there must also be *liquidi fontes* in it (we think again of the

watched full of admiration as the bees started to work immediately after the building of the hive, *nescio qua dulcedine laetae* (*G.* 4.55); it is with the same admiration that Aeneas now watches a people building the walls of their city, happy in their work, with a perfect division of labour. In both cases, admiration emerges from the unsatisfied desires of the spectators: either Virgil's bitter awareness of the impossibility of reproducing such a society in the human world,¹⁸ or Aeneas' desire to found a bee society himself, had he the land to do it.¹⁹

The image is thus closely connected to the desires of a hero whose city has just fallen²⁰ and who has been yearning for a long time to build a new one. What Aeneas sees is 'an activity that he himself should be initiating... in the interest of his people'.²¹ The envy and longing of the hero become explicit when he cries out about his lack of luck (*fortuna*) in contrast with the Tyrians, in a line that must be read in connection with the first words uttered by Aeneas in the poem, when he

harbour at Carthage, with its *aquae dulces*, 1.167, which we also have at *G.* 4.61 *aquas dulcis et frondea semper / tecta petunt*). It is also significant that the description of the Carthaginian harbour starts with a self-quotation from the harbour of Proteus (cf. *A.* 1.159-61 and *G.* 4.418-22) in the final epyllion of the *Georgics*, which is alluded to again in the description of the feast in Dido's palace (cf. *A.* 1.701-6 and *G.* 4.376-83 with Nelis (1992) 9). In the epyllion, bees are magically born again from the putrefying carcass of an ox; the city of Carthage was founded on as much land as Dido could mark off with the hide of an ox (*A.* 1.365-8), and we also know that the Carthaginians found the head of an ox before that of the horse when they were told by Juno to dig in the land (Serv. *ad A.* 4.443, Just. 18.5.15-6, Eust. *ad Dionysius Periegetes* 195). On connections between the *Georgics*' epyllion and *Aeneid* 1 see Nadeau (1984) and Nelis (1992).

¹⁸ Cf. Griffin (1979) 69.

¹⁹ From this point of view, the bee simile is a vehicle for the feelings of poet and character at the same time, a feature of Virgil's empathetic-sympathetic style: see Otis (1964) 59; Perutelli (1972) 45.

²⁰ Schell (2009) 85 argues for a parallel between the Carthaginian hill in line 420 (*imminet aduersasque aspectat desuper arces*) and the wooden horse that overlooks Troy (*A.* 2.46-7 *aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros, / inspectura domos uenturaque desuper urbi*).

²¹ Polleichtner (2009) 150. See also Nelis (1992) 16.

considers *beati* those Trojans who died beneath the walls of their city (cf. 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!* and 94-6 *o terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis / contigit oppetere!*). These two passages, if read together, unite the two impulses that attract Aeneas either to his devastated past or towards his not yet fulfilled future, and place in a kind of limbo. It is then perhaps with little surprise that the simile engenders admiration in the hero, and emulous identification with the bee-like city-builders.

The emphasis on Aeneas' admiration immediately connects this passage to its primary model, the arrival of Odysseus at Scheria (*Od.* 7.43 *θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας ἔϊσας*). The parallel with the Homeric model initially reinforces the reassuring connotations of the scene: like the Greek hero, Aeneas has landed among an enlightened civilization, and will receive the same hospitable treatment that was reserved for his epic predecessor. Yet, even the 'wonders' of Scheria were liable to look ominous. Behind their generous and sociable attitude, the Phaeacians 'do not endure foreigners, nor do they give kindly welcome to him who comes from another land' (*Od.* 7.32-3 *οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἶδε μάλ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται, / οὐδ' ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ' ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ*); their arrogance (6.274 *ὑπερφίαλοι*) draws them close to their negative neighbours, the Cyclopes (9.106 *Κυκλώπων... ὑπερφιάλων*), to whom they are related through Poseidon, who is Alcinous' grandfather and Arete's great-grandfather – and the enemy deity of Odysseus.²² On the one hand, this civilization is envisaged as the positive reverse of fictional monsters such as the Cyclopes²³ and historical competitors such as the Phoenicians.²⁴ But at the same time the analogies that link them to their opposites work against a stable neutralization of the dangers that Odysseus has faced: the negation of both Phoenicians and Cyclopes also suggests their ~~erased~~ presence.

²² See Rose (1969), Gross (1976).

²³ Heubeck (1983) 191-2. For Scheria as a 'double' reign, on the border between the lands of the stories and the every-day reality of Ithaca, see Segal (1962) and Vidal-Naquet (1981).

²⁴ Winter (1995), Dougherty (2001) 102-21.

Like Scheria, Carthage too is problematic and ambiguous, all the more so because these Tyrians are Phoenicians only disguised as Phaeacians in the poetic fiction. Their ‘national deity,’ Juno, is the perfect equivalent of Poseidon, but her connection to Carthage is much more emphasized than Poseidon’s relation to Scheria. It has long been noticed how Aeneas’ vision is presented as evidently blurred when he takes the temple erected in honour of Juno, a sort of giant *trophaeum* for the Achaeans’ victory over the Trojans, as a place where he can dissolve all his fears and hope for salvation (1.450-2 *hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem / leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus*).²⁵ Here the hero, as Horsfall puts it, ‘quite fails to observe, as we must do, that the attitude to Troy shown in these pictures is neither friendly nor sympathetic. They illustrate just those qualities which the Carthaginians might admire in the victorious Greeks – greed and brutality, for which they themselves have such a fine reputation.’²⁶ Clearly enough, there is a bitter and tragic gap between the characters’ knowledge and that of Virgil’s readers.

As is already well known, this scene betrays a significant and deliberate assimilation of Carthage and Rome. Just as bees stand allegorically for Rome in the fourth *Georgic*,²⁷ the description of the Tyrians’ activities contains many a Roman hint, either directed to Rome itself or to the recolonization of Carthage, finally accomplished by Augustus with the so called *Colonia Iulia Concordia Carthago*.²⁸ In Virgil’s Carthage, paved roads (*strata uiarum*, 422) and theatre(s?)²⁹ (427) have replaced the poor Punic huts (*magalia*, 421) and the city boasts laws, magistrates and

²⁵ See Johnson (1976) 99-105, Horsfall (1990), A. Barchiesi (1999) 335-41.

²⁶ Horsfall (1990) 138.

²⁷ Bibliography on the subject is vast: see Griffin (1979), Briggs (1980) 68-81, Nadeau (1984), Morley (2007).

²⁸ See E. L. Harrison (1984).

²⁹ See n. 14.

even a ‘sacred Senate’ (426) – a peculiarity which has induced more than one editor to eject the line, or to conjecture the occurrence of ‘some early dislocation of the text’.³⁰ Just like the temple of Jupiter in Rome, the temple of Juno in Carthage was founded precisely where a head had been dug up – only, not a human head, but that of a horse (*A.* 1.441-5).³¹

These parallels, on the narrative level, emphasize Aeneas’ identification with Dido and her people in their similar condition of exiles, but they also hint, more bitterly, at the historical future inscribed in this past, the one encapsulated in Dido’s famously ironical *urbem quam statuo, uestra est* (1.573). Roman Carthage, whether Augustus’ colony or not, has replaced Punic Carthage according to a destiny which has already been written. But in order to accept this, it is also necessary to take into consideration more than one century of repeated enmity and bloodshed – a period which generated a portrait of Carthaginians very different from the hospitable and peaceful bee-like society that Virgil apparently presents us with here. Aeneas’ interpretative horizons are

³⁰ Austin (1971) 148, following G. Williams. The line was deleted by Heyne and Ribbeck, but retained by Mynors (1969) and more recently by Conte (2009).

³¹ There is an obvious parallel between the Carthaginian grove and Romulus’ *asylum*. The *asylum* too was found at the slope of a hill, traditionally *inter duos lucos* (Liv. 1.8.5, Dion. Hal. 2.15.4, Cic. *de diuin.* 2.40, Ov. *Fast.* 3.429, Vell. 1.8.5), which are compressed into one by Virgil (*A.* 8.342-3 *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum / rettulit*). In both cases, a head had been dug up from the soil: in Carthage, that of a horse; in Rome, the *caput humanum* which gave the Capitoline hill its current name (Liv. 1.55.5, Pl. *NH* 28.15, Serv. *ad A.* 8.345). The head, which symbolized ‘the hold of Rome over an enemy,’ in the third century ‘took on a new prophetic guise, assuring Rome of ultimate mastery’ (Liv. 1.55.5 *caput rerum fore portendebat*, see Ogilvie (1965) 211). The two portents are read together by Brisson (1969) as prophesying Rome’s ultimate conquest of Carthage notwithstanding the latter’s military strength. The ambiguity of line 445, where the phrase *facilem uictu* has been read by some as an indirect hint at Carthage’s ultimate military failure (taking *uictu* as passive supine of *uincere* rather than ablative of *uictus*), was pointed out by Kraggerud (1963) and analyzed by Egan (1998), but see *contra* E. L. Harrison (1984) 134.

limited in this scene,³² and there is no reason why he should be able to comment on a future that he has no access to. Yet readers have already been warned about the stereotypical fierceness of Carthaginians, which has been set aside only by Jupiter's intervention (*A.* 1.302-3 *ponuntque ferocia Poeni / corda uolente deo*) and will soon be alerted again to the need to be wary of a site that will give birth to a famously deceitful nation (1.661 *domum... ambiguum Tyriosque bilinguis*), a city 'impious' and 'haughty,' as Horace calls it (*Epod.* 7.5 *superbas inuidae Karthaginis arces*; *C.* 4.8.17 *Karthaginis impiae*), breeding 'inhuman cruelty' (*Liv.* 21.4.9 *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica...*). From Juno's words, it will be clear that Venus has always feared and suspected the site (4.96-7 *nec me adeo fallit ueritam te moenia nostra / suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae*). Aeneas, however, wrapped as he is in the cloak of mist, cannot see the potential danger:³³ his mother 'suspects' the city, he simply *suspicit* it – 'looks up in admiration' (438 *fastigia suspicit urbis*).³⁴

Thus, if we turn again to *A.* 1.418-40, we may find some hints at the city's sinister connotations. The hill of Carthage 'towers above the city' (420 *imminet*), a verb that can encode a sense of

³² See Segal (1981).

³³ Cf. Johnson (1976) 101-2 on the 'blurred focus' caused by this divine mist.

³⁴ Virgil's choice of this term is suggestive. The verb may signify 'to look up,' in contrast with line 420 (*aspectat desuper*), used to indicate that Aeneas has come down from the hill and is now in the middle of the city. Furthermore, like the English 'to look up to,' it also denotes admiration (for Servius, it corresponds to *miratur: ut e contrario despicit contemnit significat*). Yet a third meaning is the English 'to suspect,' although usually borne only by the past participle of the verb, whereas for the other forms the verb *suspectare* is preferred. The meaning, borne by a present participle, is confirmed by a passage of Sallust (*BJ* 70.1 *Bomilcar... suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens nouas res cupere*) and could be present, alongside the usual 'to look up,' also at *G.* 1.375-6, when the heifer looks up at the sky, suspecting the rain (*bucula caelum / suspiciens patulis captauit naribus auras*, perhaps confirmed by *G.* 1.443 *suspecti tibi sint imbres*).

menace, while the towers (420 *arces*) are called *aduersae*, meaning, as Conway states, that ‘the mountain, though higher, looks at them in the face,’³⁵ but also evoking aggression, echoing the ambiguity of *contra* at the beginning of the poem (1.13 *Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia*). Both *immineo* and *aduersus* feature in the description of the Carthaginian harbour (1.165-6 *horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra. / fronte sub aduersa scopulis pendentibus antrum*), a passage which Schiesaro reads as displaying ‘the typical features and colours of *loca horrida*’ behind its apparently reassuring characterization.³⁶

In addition, an allusion to the deceitfulness of the Carthaginians may be encoded in the phrase *manibus subuoluere saxa* (424), which has provoked surprise at least since DServius.³⁷ In Kraggerud’s opinion, this is a reminiscence of Sisyphus (6.616 *saxum ingens uoluont alii*), which would serve to foreshadow the fall of the city: ‘Wie der Stein, so wird die Burg Karthagos fallen’.³⁸ I would add that Sisyphus, known from Homer as ‘the smartest of all men’ (*Il.* 6.153-4) and famous for his deceitfulness and untrustworthiness, was punished by Zeus for his betrayal (*Apoll.* 1.9.3). For Lucretius, he is a prime example of political ambition (*Lucr.* 3.995-1002), and mythology also depicted him as a thief who attacked wayfarers and killed them with a rock (*Ov. Ib.* 175). It would not be reassuring, for Aeneas and Achates, to evoke such a character in their present condition as travellers.

³⁵ Conway (1935) 82.

³⁶ Schiesaro (2008) 79 n. 84 notes the menace posed by adjectives such as *uastus* (162), *horrens* (165), *ater* (165), *aduersus* (166) and the ambiguity of verbs such as *frangor* (161), *minor* (162), *sileo* (164), *immineo* (165). On the harbour of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.136-41) as a model for this passage, see *infra*.

³⁷ DServius *ad loc.*: ‘cur manibus? an quia adhuc machinae non erant? an ad construentium festinationem referre uoluit?’

³⁸ Kraggerud (1963) 34.

2. The BEES behind the bees

In this context, if we activate the intertextual models of the simile, we notice that even bees partake in the threat posed by the Carthaginians. In fact, just as the horse's head in the following lines (*A.* 1.444-5) explicitly foreshadows the Punic Wars, bees are also a particularly apt symbol for the Carthaginians in view of their martial associations, since in all of Virgil's Greek epic predecessors they are usually found in military contexts.³⁹ In the *Iliad*, bees are an analogue for the Greek army gathered in an assembly after Agamemnon's dream⁴⁰ (*Il.* 2.87-93) and for two Lapiths, Polypoites and Leonteus, who protect their gate just as bees protect their hive and offspring from hunters (*Il.* 12.164-72). In the *Argonautica*, the Bebrycians, after the death of Amycus, flee in panic like a swarm of bees at the attack of the Argonauts (*Arg.* 2.130-6). The opposite situation is described in Aeschylus' *Persians*, where both bees and Persians are visualized as a strongly cohesive army, fully united under their leader (*Pers.* 126-32). The only Greek epic bee simile which does not belong to a martial context, that of the Lemnian women in Apollonius (*Arg.* 1.879-85), is a significant erotic model for the bee simile of Carthage, and one recognizably fraught with perilous connotations, since these women killed all their husbands on the basis that they were guilty of rejecting their 'legitimate wives' (*Arg.* 1.609-19), a charge which parallels quite closely Dido's accusation against Aeneas.⁴¹

³⁹ As is clear from this discussion, I do not endorse the view that the bee simile of *Aeneid* 1 is indebted neither to the bee similes of the *Iliad* nor to those of the *Argonautica*, for which see Hügi (1952) 42, H. Fraenkel (1953) 385 and Rieks (1981) 1046.

⁴⁰ This simile has been found already by Knauer (1964) 375 to have many points of contact with ours; see also Lausberg (1983) 219-20. For its perilous connotations, see Polleichtner (2005) 119.

⁴¹ On the Lemnian women as a model for Dido, see Nelis (2001) 112-7. On the erotic connotations of this simile, Effe (2001) 168. On the theme of pregnancy in the simile, Clauss (1993) 142 and Schell (2009) 84 for

In Latin literature, while we find the connection between bees and military activity in Varro (*RR* 3.16.9, 3.16.30) and Pliny (*NH* 11.19-20, 26-7),⁴² the most significant passages, for our Carthaginian focus, belong to Livy's third decade, where the bees, rather than a symbol of prosperity, 'regularly symbolise the hostile forces which are to defeat the Roman command,'⁴³ as with the swarms seen in the Roman forum (Liv. 24.10.11 *secundum apum examen in foro uisum – quod mirabile est, quia rarum*) and in the forum of Casinum (Liv. 27.23.2 *Casini examen apium ingens in foro consedisce*). Before the battle of Ticinus, a swarm of bees predicts the forthcoming defeat of the Roman army at the hands of the Carthaginians (Liv. 21.46.2 *examen apium in arbore praetorio imminente consederat*)⁴⁴ and Hannibal's apparent loss of strength after Cannae is also compared, by the ambassadors from the Hirpini and the Samnites, to that of a bee that has spent its sting (Liv. 23.42.5 *te, ad unum modo ictum uigentem, uelut aculeo emisso torpere*).

The last two bee similes of the *Aeneid* will make the connection between bees and military activities explicit: while the swarm of bees which settles on the laurel tree in the palace of Latinus (*A.* 7.64-7) accordingly anticipates the forthcoming war and future domination of the Trojans,⁴⁵ towards the end of the poem the Latins will be 'smoked out' from their walls like bees from their hive (*A.* 12.587-92). In *Aeneid* 1, however, the only hint at the military sphere is kept in the expression *agmine facto* (434), which also closely recalls the recent danger run by the Trojans at the furious unleashing of Aeolus' winds (*A.* 1.82-3 *ac uenti uelut agmine facto, / qua data porta,*

its influence in the *Aeneid*. For a full discussion of the erotic connotations of the bee simile of *Aeneid* 1 and its implications for the destiny of Dido, see Grant (1969).

⁴² See Morley (2007) 466.

⁴³ Walsh (1973) 210.

⁴⁴ Similarly, the bad omen of a swarm of bees was apparently seen in the camp of Brutus and Cassius before the battle of Philippi (Plut. *Brut.* 39.3).

⁴⁵ Cf. Henry (1889) 485: 'bees were considered a bad omen because so often dispossessed by an enemy of their citadel'.

ruunt). The impression that Virgil has deliberately de-militarized his Carthaginian bees may be further confirmed by the omission of two lines from the repeated passage of the *Georgics* (*G.* 4.165-6 *sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti, / inque uicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli*) which refer to the bees' task of guarding the hive – a mention that would have brought the passage closer to the Homeric bee simile of the Lapiths protecting their gate in *Iliad* 12.

Thus, in order to distantiate the unwitting character of Aeneas from his more conscious readers, Virgil has created at least two levels of significance for bee imagery: while his intertexts indicate that bees are a symbol of both an enlightened and perfectly organized state and of the military forces that lie at the basis of such perfection, the apparently peaceful bee society of the Carthaginians functions according to the policy of expelling unwanted intruders (435 *ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent*),⁴⁶ once its bee citizens have been explicitly lined up in an advancing 'martial array'.

Before discussing the extra layer of menace that the intratextual memory of the *Georgics* activates in this scene, it is worth turning again to the Trojans/ants of *A.* 4.402-7. In fact, in my brief discussion of this passage, I have deliberately ignored its connection to the bee simile of Book 1, which is in fact symmetrical with the ants simile in Book 4 much in the same way as the Dido/Diana simile at *A.* 1.498-504 is symmetrical with the Aeneas/Apollo simile at *A.* 4.143-50.⁴⁷

Both bees and ants appear in the middle of their respective books, and they first show the Tyrians from Aeneas' point of view, then the Trojans from Dido's. Clearly one of their aims is to contrast the naïve character of the hero, and his overall good intentions, with the rage and hatred that devour the queen. Yet it must be added that the military bees of Book 1 seem to lie behind the military ants of Book 4, since most of the terms used in the ants simile belong to the world of

⁴⁶ For the Trojans as the drones of the simile see Grant (1969) 383-4.

⁴⁷ On which see Hardie (2006).

bees:⁴⁸ *hiemis memores* (4.403) had been used for bees at *G.* 4.156; *tectoque reponunt* (4.403) at *G.* 4.157 and *A.* 1.433; *grandia* (4.405) at *G.* 4.26; *agmina cogunt* (4.406) recalls *agmine facto* at *G.* 4.167 and *A.* 1.434; *castigant moras* (4.407) recalls the bees driving away lazy drones at *G.* 4.168 and *A.* 1.435; *opere omnis semita feruet* (4.407) echoes *feruet opus* at *G.* 4.169 and *A.* 1.436.

It is only through intratextual memory that we can witness the transformation of the Trojans/ants into bees, much in the same way as we could witness their transformation into Hannibal's elephants only by understanding the allusion to the Ennian passage transmitted by Servius. Yet, whereas the shift from ants to elephants may serve to add menace to the scene by introducing the memory of the Punic Wars, the shift from ants to bees anticipates the associations between bees and Trojans that will become explicit in the course of the poem,⁴⁹ while also looking back to the connections between bees and Romans established in the fourth *Georgic*.⁵⁰

In the bee simile of Book 1, we find a comparable shift from simile to simile activated by the intratextual memory of the bees' original *Georgic* context, where they were followed, as we have seen, by a comparison to Cyclopes. The evocation of the Cyclopes simile not only reinforces the military aspects of bees already indicated by Virgil's models, but also brings the image of Dido's Tyrians closer to that of Hannibal's Carthaginians: warmongers and weapon-forgers.

2. The CYCLOPES behind the bees

If we accept the idea that the self-quotation from *G.* 4.162-9 also inevitably recalls the second half of the *Georgics* diptych, we are confronted with another simile which illustrates the actions of the Tyrians as well as, or perhaps even better than, the bee simile did:

⁴⁸ See Austin (1955) 125, Grant (1969) 384-5, Briggs (1980) 53-5.

⁴⁹ See *infra*.

⁵⁰ See n. 27.

miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.
instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.
hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatri
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris:
[ac ueluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis
cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna;
illi inter sese magna ui bracchia tollunt
in numerum uersantque tenaci forcipe ferrum:]

(*A.* 1.421-9 and *G.* 4.170-5)

Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads. Eagerly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, to rear the citadel, and roll up rocks by hand; some to choose the site for a dwelling and enclose it with a furrow. They choose the laws, the magistrates, and the sacred Senate. Here some are digging harbours, here other lay the deep foundations of a theatre, and hew out of the cliffs enormous columns, high adornments for future stages. [And as, when the Cyclopes in haste forge bolts from tough ore, some with oxhide bellows make the blasts come and go, others dip the hissing brass in the lake, while Aetna groans under the anvils laid upon her; they, with mighty force, now one, now another, raise their arms in measured cadence, and turn the iron with gripping tongs.]

There are many similarities between the Cyclopes forging a shield emblazoned with the city of Rome and the Tyrians/bees forging a city/hive which resembles Rome. The terms *moles* (421),⁵¹ *alta* (427 and 429) and *immanis* (428) stand in direct opposition to the miniature then offered by the bees, emphasizing the shift from a large to a small scale. The verbs *insto* and *ardeo* (423, with *ardeo* evoking fire and Vulcan) both match in meaning the *properant* of the *Georgics*, as the *strepitus* (422) of the Tyrians' activities pairs well with the *stridentia aera* of the Cyclopes. Furthermore, both bronze and *stridor* will return shortly later in the description of Juno's temple (*A.* 1.448-9 *aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque / aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis*),⁵² whose *ecphrasis* might have a Naevian precedent in the so-called fragment of the Giants (fr. 19 Morel), a passage which, according to a popular hypothesis,⁵³ may have belonged to the

⁵¹ The term indicates something massive, almost frighteningly massive. Similarly, Aeneas will tell Dido how the Trojans marvelled at the *moles* of the wooden horse (*A.* 2.32 *et molem mirantur equi*) and even the dreadful Mezentius will be described in similar terms (*A.* 10.771 *et mole sua stat*). It is noteworthy that descriptions of both Mezentius and the wooden horse have been found by scholars to have similarities with that of Polyphemus: see Glenn (1971) for Mezentius and Putnam (1965) 131 for the wooden horse.

⁵² The terms could be regarded as bringing Cyclopes and bees closer through the intermediary of the Curetes, the sound of whose bronze shields is followed by bees in the description of the Cretan cave where Jupiter was kept as a baby (*G.* 4.150-1 *canoros / Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae*), a suggestion I owe to Victoria Rimell.

⁵³ The reconstruction was first suggested by Bergk in 1842 (in a review of Köne, J. K. *Über die Sprache der römischen Epiker* in *Zeitsch. f. d. Altertumswiss.* 9:183ff.), who not only identified the fragment with the temple of Agrigentum, but also added the scholia of DServius *ad A.* 2.797 and 3.19 (fr. 5 and 4 Morel) as part of the *ecphrasis* of that very same temple. The same suggestion was made famous by Strzelecki (1964) who, with apparently no knowledge of Bergk, was inspired by H. Fraenkel (1935). See E. Fraenkel (1954), Mariotti (1955) 26, M. Barchiesi (1962) 271-86.

description of the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Agrigentum, which displayed both a Gigantomachy and a Capture of Troy (Diod. 13.82.4).⁵⁴

In addition to these similarities, two details are particularly noteworthy. The first is the description of the Tyrians as busy in building (or tracing) the walls of their city (423 *ducere muros*): a similar *iunctura* (with *moenia* instead of *muros*) is found again only once in the *Aeneid*, in relation to the walls built by the Cyclopes in the Underworld (*A.* 6.630-1, *Cyclopum ducta*⁵⁵ *caminis / moenia*). Even more striking, in the description of an otherwise anachronistically advanced civilization, is the representation of Carthaginians as ‘rolling up rocks with their own hands’ (424 *manibus subuoluere saxa*), a phrase which Kraggerud connected, as we have seen, with the ominous character of Sisyphus.⁵⁶ Rather, this detail closely recalls the activity of the Cyclopes, as at *G.* 1.473 (*G.* 1.471-3 *quotiens Cyclopum efferuere in agros / uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam, / flammaramque globos liquefactaque uoluere saxa!*). The *saxa* were already almost a byword for the Cyclopes in the aforementioned passage pronounced by Aeneas (*A.* 1.201-2), and are indeed present in almost all Virgilian mentions of the Cyclopes,⁵⁷ referring either to the cliffs of the Aeolian islands (*A.* 1.201; 3.555, 559, 566) or to the white-hot rocks, the lava (*A.* 3.576; 8.417; *G.* 1.473).

⁵⁴ It is an intriguing but indemonstrable suggestion that the *singula* at which Aeneas stares before bumping into the scenes of the capture of Troy might be the Giants of Naevius’ poem (*A.* 1.453-6 *namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo / reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi / artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem / miratur, uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas...*).

⁵⁵ *uaria lectio* (FPRabdt); Mynors (1969) and Conte (2009) print *educta* (Mcefhv, Seru., Dserv. ad *A.* 12.674, Tib.).

⁵⁶ See *supra*.

⁵⁷ The only two passages in which Virgil mentions the Cyclopes and not *saxa* are the *Georgics* simile, where we nonetheless find the *massae* (*G.* 4.170) and the already mentioned *A.* 6.630-1, referring to the walls they built in the Underworld.

These two different kinds of *saxa* closely correspond to two different types of Cyclopes: the Homeric ones, monstrous race of one-eyed men who share the wild and secluded life of Polyphemus, and the Hesiodic Cyclopes, demons of the bolt who appear, in Hellenistic poetry, in association with Hephaestus and the volcanic forges at Zeus' service. These two types of Cyclopes, whose superimposition must be ancient,⁵⁸ are both pertinent to the interpretation of the Carthaginians.

Homeric Cyclopes have already been recognized by Virgilian critics as a major literary model implicitly at work at different stages of the Carthaginian episode. Before Aeneas' arrival at Carthage, while the storm that drove the hero to the Libyan shores has famously been recognized by Hardie as unleashing the first 'gigantomachic forces' of the poem,⁵⁹ the partial modelling of the Carthaginian harbour on that of the Cyclopes at *Od.* 9.136-40⁶⁰ has been interpreted as indicating the suspicions of a hero who has just landed in an unknown land, 'caught between the possibility of Phaeacian civilization or savagery'.⁶¹ The threatening cliffs of the harbour (*A.* 1.162-3 *hinc atque hinc uastae rupes geminique minantur / in caelum scopuli*) reminded the hero of both the cliffs of Scylla and Charybdis (*A.* 1.200-1 *uos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis / accestis scopulos*) and the rocks of the Cyclopes (*A.* 1.201-2 *uos et Cyclopia saxa / experti*), who appear here for the first time in the poem as explicitly associated with a possible present peril and offered as the example of a danger recently overcome. Shortly afterwards, the primary Homeric model of the welcoming civilization of the Phaeacians seems to dissolve both the hero's fears and the Cyclopic danger. The Phaeacian model, however, which was not completely devoid of danger even in the

⁵⁸ See A. Barchiesi in *EV*, s.u. *Ciclopì*.

⁵⁹ Hardie (1986) 90-7.

⁶⁰ See Knauer (1964) 373, Austin (1971) 71-2, Clay (1988) 197-9, Schiesaro (2008) 79 n. 84.

⁶¹ Clay (1988) 198. Cf. Aeneas' inquiry on the site at *A.* 1.308-9 *qui teneant (nam inculta uidet), hominesne feraene, / quaerere constituit*.

Odyssey,⁶² is soon discovered to be nothing but smoke and mirrors, when Polyphemus surfaces again firstly in his similarities with the Virgilian Fama,⁶³ and more consistently in the echoes of his curse in the curse of Dido (*A.* 4.621-9).⁶⁴

It is possible that Dido's 'Cyclopic behaviour'⁶⁵ may serve to bring her closer to the historical avenger that she invokes in the curse. Hannibal, as is well known, lost an eye from an infection after the battle of the Trebia,⁶⁶ and indeed Juvenal refers to him as the 'one-eyed General' (Juv. 10.158 *ducem... luscum*). One fragment of Ennius which contains a Cyclops simile (fr. 319-20 Sk. *Cyclopis uenter uelut olim turserat alte / carnibus humanis distentus*), attributed by Priscian to Book IX of

⁶² See *supra*.

⁶³ For the gigantomachic features of *Fama* cf. *A.* 4.181-2 *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae* and 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; 4.177 *ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit* and 3.619-20 *ipse arduus, altaque pulsat / sidera* and 678 *Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis*, with Hardie (1986) 274; see also Hardie (2012) 78-125.

⁶⁴ Moskalew (1988) argues that the Cyclopes play a key role in the guest-host relationship between Aeneas and Dido, and points out further parallels between Books 3 and 4: Achaemenides' warning about the Cyclopes and Mercury's warning about Dido; the Trojans' alacrity in fleeing from the Cyclopes (*A.* 3.666-7) and that of Aeneas at Carthage (*A.* 4.574-6); descriptions of dawn at *A.* 3.588-90 and *A.* 4.6-8. Schiesaro (2008) 92 n. 151 adds that *A.* 3.602-3 (*scio me Danais e classibus unum / et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis*) contrasts Dido's words at *A.* 4.425-6 (*non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem / Aulide iuraui classemue ad Pergama misi*), while *A.* 3.605 (*spargite me in fluctus uastoque immergite ponto*) anticipates *A.* 4.600-1 (*non potui abreptum, diuellere corpus et undis / spargere?*). Cf. Justin Glenn (1971) 155 who, in the light of numerous parallels between Polyphemus and Mezentius, comes to the conclusion that Virgil's Polyphemus 'surely must be regarded as an integral figure in the entire movement of the epic'.

⁶⁵ As Moskalew (1988) calls it, referring to Dido's thoughts of cannibalism (*A.* 4.600) and the modelling of her curse (*A.* 4.607-29) on that of Polyphemus.

⁶⁶ Liv. 22.2.10-11, Polyb. 3.79.12.

the *Annales*, is taken by Skutsch⁶⁷ to refer not to Hannibal but to Philip V of Macedon, also represented as a Cyclops in an epigram of Alcaeus of Messene (*Anth. Pal.* 9.519), who would have transferred to Philip the attributes of his one-eyed ancestors, Antigonus Monophthalmos, also dubbed Κύκλωψ as a second nickname (*Ael. V. H.* 12.43), and Philip II.⁶⁸ Yet, even if a reference to Philip V seems more likely, it is worth emphasizing the existing connections between one-eyed generals and Cyclopes. Silius' Hannibal, whom Fucecchi dubs 'the proper "Giant" of the *Punica*,'⁶⁹ will be described as a living furnace (*Sil.* 5.603-6),⁷⁰ and the cloak he gives as a gift to his brother Hasdrubal has a picture of Virgil's Polyphemus⁷¹ embroidered upon it:

antrum ingens iuxta, quod acus simulauit in ostro,
 Cyclopum domus. hic recubans manantia tabo
 corpora letifero sorbet Polyphemus hiatu.
 circa fracta iacent excussaue morsibus ossa.

(*Sil.* 15.427-30)

And next is a vast cave, imitated by the needle on purple, the house of the Cyclopes. Here, reclining, Polyphemus swallows down with his death-dealing jaws bodies dripping with gore. Around him lie the broken bones, tossed out from his jaws.

⁶⁷ Skutsch (1985) 496.

⁶⁸ See Walbank (1943) 3-7.

⁶⁹ Fucecchi (2013) 119.

⁷⁰ See Stocks (2014, forthcoming), by courtesy of the author: 'Hannibal is a monster of war... seething with rage as though he were a creature of Vulcan, a Virgilian Cacus, or at work in the cave of the Cyclopes'.

⁷¹ Cf. *A.* 3.618-38, with S. J. Harrison (2010) 290.

While it is true that Polyphemus may here serve to foreshadow Hasdrubal's defeat at the battle of Metaurus, the picture may also be, in Stephen Harrison's words, 'an appropriately ironic characterization of Hannibal... one-eyed (cf. 4.751-62), literally thirsting for human blood (1.59-60) and a scorner of the gods (1.58)'.⁷²

To sum up, while the intertextual memory of the Homeric Cyclopes indicates that the Trojans may have landed on savage and inhospitable shores, the intratextual memory of the Hesiodic Cyclopes of the *Georgics* sharpens the characterization of Carthage as an ominous military power and brings to mind the historical weapon-forging Carthaginians of the Punic Wars, especially those of the Second, led by Hannibal *luscus*, the one-eyed commander.

If we reunite the two images of bees and Cyclopes in their application to Virgil's Carthaginians, we notice that they both share a double characterization. The bees-Cyclopes simile of the *Georgics* has been interpreted in the light of a dichotomy between the creative forces of stock farming, symbolized by the bees, and the destructive forces of nature and war, symbolized by the Cyclopes,⁷³ but the simile works to bring these two symbols together through their analogies rather than their polarities. Just as the Cyclopes, in their double Homeric-Hesiodic form, belong to both pastoral and martial contexts, the bees of the *Georgics* do not only embody the enlightened pastoral activities of the Augustan renovated Golden Age, but also act as the 'miniature warriors'⁷⁴ which allegorically represent the recent peril of the civil wars.⁷⁵

This double pastoral/military characterization is applied to the Carthaginians of *Aeneid* 1 in order to emphasize the gap between Aeneas' limited knowledge of Carthage and the readers' historical

⁷² S. J. Harrison (2010) 290-3, referring to Frank (1974) 843-4.

⁷³ Betensky (1979).

⁷⁴ In Betensky's words (1979) 29.

⁷⁵ Cf. the bees' civil war at *G.* 4.67-87. See Griffin (1979), Nadeau (1984) and (1989), Nelis (1992), Morley (2007) 466-8.

memory of the Punic Wars; in other words, the same gap that lies between the time of the fictional narration of myth and the history of Rome which is hidden and allegorized behind that narration. In the course of Book 4, that military history will intrude more and more into the allegory of myth, through Dido's curse up to the imagined destruction of Carthage which overlaps with her death in the finale of the episode (*A.* 4.669-71). And it is by taking with him from Carthage both symbols of bees and Cyclopes that Aeneas will continue his journey towards the history of the foundation of Rome and its augmented – Augustan – form.

Roman Conclusions

In a scene which explicitly plays with the themes of the hero's vision and awareness, the bee simile of *Aeneid* 1 is a fascinating example of how Virgilian self-reference, in a wider ambience of intricate and self-conscious allusivity, requires readers to think (and see) through various different lenses and narrative strata. What we are dealing with in this passage is a specific technique of hiding menacing images and connotations in 'traces' of precedent texts: thus, just like the model of the apparently hospitable Scheria, the image of the bees does not, or at least does not only, symbolize the hero's arrival at an amiable and enlightened community. Rather, it echoes the unsettling images of the Achaeans, the Lemnian women, Sisyphus, the Cyclopes, warning readers that Aeneas should be wary when approaching the site.

What remains to be discussed, now that we have recognized the aggressive potential of the Carthaginian bees, is the significance of this aggressivity in view of the relation between bees and Rome. From this point of view, it is easy to see how the *Georgics'* allegory of Rome as an enlightened bee state and the *Aeneid's* mirroring between Carthage and Rome eventually become two sides of the same coin.

In fact, the allegory of Rome as a bee state has not spared the world of the *Aeneid*: in the clearly symmetrical distribution of bee imagery in the *Aeneid* (we find them in Books 1, 6, 7 and 12, that is,

at the beginning and at the end of each half of the poem), Briggs reads Virgil's intent to portray bees as a constructive and positive token of power for the city that Aeneas is going to build. In Book 6, where the souls gathering around the river Lethe are compared to bees (*A.* 6.707-9), 'the simile assumes that along with the knowledge [of the mysteries of the world], Aeneas also carries with him the harmony of the bee-community'.⁷⁶ In Book 7, in the prophecy in the palace of Latinus (*A.* 7.64-7), 'the association of the Trojans with a wandering swarm, hinted at in the first simile... takes on the aspect of a concrete symbol',⁷⁷ whereas in Book 12 (*A.* 12.587-92), where the Latins enclosed in their walls are likened to a swarm of bees, 'the prophecy of Book 7 has come true' and 'the victor in the conflict over Latium will be selected to rule as is the strong king in *G.* 4.88-102'.⁷⁸ However, there are aspects that complicate Briggs' teleological reasoning: in the bee simile of Book 6, the political character of bees is all but explicitly stated; in Book 7, the bees of the prophecy might as well represent the Latins who are 'driven out of their settlement by strangers'.⁷⁹ In Book 12, the Latins/bees are smoked out from their home by a *pastor*, and not by another swarm (*A.* 12.587). What is significant in the bee pattern of the *Aeneid* is that the military connotations of bees become finally explicit near the end of the poem, in a simile (*A.* 12.587-92), which recognizably draws on Apollonius' bee simile of *Argonautica* 2 (*Arg.* 2.130-6).⁸⁰ This passage, though in 'painful contrast' with the peaceful scene of Book 1, creates a connection between Tyrians and Latins as enemies to the Trojans and in acting as 'a reminder that Carthage suffered a symbolic capture when its queen committed suicide... [it] implicitly foreshadows Amata's death'.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Briggs (1980) 76.

⁷⁷ Briggs (1980) 77.

⁷⁸ Briggs (1980) 79.

⁷⁹ Henry (1889) 485.

⁸⁰ See West (1970) 266-7.

⁸¹ Tarrant (2012) 240.

Not only bees, however, have taken up arms during the course of the poem: Aeneas too has undergone a similar militarization. The hero who, in the first bee simile of the *Aeneid*, seemed no more than an *inscius pastor* who watched busy bees in admiration,⁸² has become completely involved in war by the end of the poem.⁸³ In the course of this militarization of the hero, we also find his association with the weapon-forging Cyclopes. Long after the symbolic fall of the city of Carthage, the second half of the *Georgics* simile reappears in the narrative context of the epic, with the Cyclopes subjugated and forced to build Aeneas' shield, as if the powers that were once 'used irresponsibly' had now become the 'instrument of a divine providence':⁸⁴

ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
 sortiti. fluit aes riuis aurique metallum,
 uulnificusque chalybs uasta fornace liquescit.
 ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
 tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbis
 impediunt. alii uentosis follibus auras
 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus antrum;
 illi inter sese multa ui brachia tollunt

⁸² He is a *nescius pastor* in Dido's deer simile (4.68-73) and *inscius* after the bee simile of Book 6 (6.711); see Anderson (1968) and Chew (2002). More interestingly, as Emily Gowers points out to me, the self-attributed simile to an *inscius pastor* at *A.* 2.308-9 provides Aeneas with a justification and an alibi for not preventing the attack of the Achaeans.

⁸³ See Chew (2002) 625.

⁸⁴ Hardie (1986) 105: 'The caves of Aeolus and of the Cyclopes are both presented as centres of immense elemental power, with the essential difference that in the first that power is used irresponsibly, whereas in the second it is the instrument of a divine providence'.

in numerum, uersantque tenaci forcipe massam.

(A. 8.444-53)

They with speed all bent to the toil, allotting the labour equally. Bronze and golden ore flow in streams, and wounding steel is molted in the vast furnace. A giant shield they shape, to confront alone all the weapons of the Latins, and weld it sevenfold, circle on circle. Some with panting bellows make the blasts come and go, others dip the hissing brass in the lake, while the cavern groans under the anvils laid upon it; they, with mighty force, now one, now another, raise their arms in measured cadence, and turn the mass with gripping tongs.

At the end of Book 8, after the description of the shield, the spotlight will turn again on Aeneas' ignorance, as he stares at the shield with admiration (*miratur*) and takes delight in the image without grasping its meaning (*ignarus*). Unwittingly, he is about to carry on his shoulders the glory and destiny of posterity:⁸⁵

Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

(A. 8.729-31)

Such sights on the shield of Vulcan, his mother's gift, he admires, and though unaware of the events, he takes delight in their image, raising up on his shoulder the fame and fortunes of his children's children.

⁸⁵ See Chew (2002) 621: 'This concluding image is an appropriate metaphor for Aeneas' role in the epic; he is unaware of the significance of his undertakings, for he reacts to the shield as to an artistic creation, not as to a map of his future'.

Such a militarization has already been put in motion when he enters the city of Carthage and takes part in first person in the *scaenae futurae* that the theatre of Queen Dido is going to perform.⁸⁶ As long as Carthage is the specular image of Rome (as Dido is of Aeneas), the same features echoed in the description of the Tyrians will apply to the hero, at least from the point at which he enters the city and mingles with the Carthaginians (*A.* 1.440 *per medios miscetque uiris neque cernitur ulli*), a passage that emphasizes the danger he will pose to the city by echoing those lines of Book 2 when the Trojans will mingle with Greek soldiers ‘in the blindness of the night’ (*A.* 2.396-8 *uadimus immixti Danaïs haud numine nostro / multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem / conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco*).

If it is true that Carthaginians and Achaeans seem to be put on the same side in the temple of Juno or through the Homeric image of bees gathering after Agamemnon’s dream, it is also true that Aeneas, like the Greek soldiers, is entering a city in a cloak of mist, and will eventually lead to the death of its leader and to the dissolution of the state. As Van Nortwick puts it, Aeneas, ‘Venus’ deceptive work of art... who enters Troy and destroys it from within,’⁸⁷ eventually performs the role of Carthage’s wooden horse.

Briggs, I conclude, is right to reason that the Romans will gain possession from the Carthaginians of the symbol of power that the bees represent, much in the same way as they seize the token of the horse in Egan’s analysis of the horse’s head,⁸⁸ and as we find Cyclopes resituated in Book 8 in their properly subservient proto-Roman context. But it is reductive, as it was in the case of Carthage, to interpret this ‘plunder’ in light of the optimistic reading of the future city of Rome as a peaceful and enlightened bee state. The meaning of these tokens of power is far from straightforward: they complicate the image of Rome just as they complicate the image of

⁸⁶ On which see E. L. Harrison (1972-73).

⁸⁷ Van Nortwick (1992) 121.

⁸⁸ Egan (1998).

Carthage.⁸⁹ In other words, *si parua licet componere magnis*, the ambiguity of a single Virgilian simile mirrors the poetic and political complexity of the epic as a whole.

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⁸⁹ On gigantomachic traits ambiguously applied to Aeneas and the Trojans, see O'Hara (2007) 98-101. For a pessimistic reading of the shield, see Casali (2006), esp. 200: 'The workshop that will produce the Shield of Aeneas is not the place to manufacture robotic hostess-trolleys or horse-troughs; here are made arms with which the gods terrorize and exercise their tyranny over mankind'. Cf. the close of the *Georgics*: *G.* 4.560-2 *Caesar dum magnus ad altum / fulminat Euphraten bello uictorque uolentis / per populos dat iura uiamque adfectat Olympo*.

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